

anxiety than he had felt since the fall of Delhi. Sir John Grant had been to Dacca to inspect some railway works in progress there. On his way back, his course lay up the river Jamoonah, and crowds of ryots thronged the banks, praying and beseeching him to deliver them from the indigo planters. For days afterwards, in the same journey, both banks of the river, for a distance of seventy or eighty miles, were lined by thousands of people who were running along to keep up with the steamer, the women sitting by the water's edge, the inhabitants of the different villages pouring out and taking up the race from village to village, all the time vociferously beseeching him to grant them justice. The Lieutenant-Governor's remark upon the subject does not certainly indicate any great depth of feeling: "The organization and capacity for continued and simultaneous action in the cause, which this remarkable demonstration over so large an extent of country proved, are subjects worthy of much consideration." Lord Canning looked at the matter in a much more serious light, but Sir John Grant probably knew the Bengalee character too well to feel alarmed. "From that day," said the Viceroy, "I felt that a shot fired in anger or fear by one foolish planter might put every factory in Lower Bengal in flames."

It might have occurred possibly to Sir John Grant that the demonstration which he thought "worthy of serious consideration," and which so much alarmed Lord Canning, may have been very easily got up by working some of those secret springs that are never wanting in the politics of Bengal when a little intrigue may serve the purpose of a party.

That the high opinion which Sir John Peter Grant's fellow-civilians had formed of his abilities was shared by the Government at home, is evidenced by his selection to succeed the late Governor of Jamaica, a dependency where reform in the administration seems to be more loudly called for than it was in Bengal in 1860. Nothing, of course, can justify the outrages committed by the natives

in Jamaica during the recent outbreak ; but if the accounts which have been published of the wrongs and grievances of the black population are true, Sir John Peter Grant, as the friend of an oppressed race, will find no unfavourable field for the exercise of that benevolence and large-hearted sympathy which caused him to be regarded in Bengal as the friend of the native, and the enemy of European progress.

Sir George Clerk commenced his Indian career in 1816, and for his eminent services, principally in diplomacy, was in 1848 created a K.C.B. After this he was called to serve his country in another field altogether—a rare distinction for an Indian officer—having been appointed to assist in adjusting the affairs of South Africa, and in a special commission to the Orange River Settlement. Upon his retirement from Bombay the Secretary of State availed himself of his great Indian experience by appointing him a member of Council. One claim he undeniably has on the gratitude of posterity, in the fact that it was he who first brought the Lawrences into notice. When political agent in the Punjab, in the days of Runjeet Singh, he first took Sir Henry Lawrence by the hand, and set him on the lowest step of the ladder on which he soon rose to eminence. He did not accomplish much in Bombay, but quarrelled with Sir Charles Wood for what the one called interference, and the other a due exercise of authority, and tendered his resignation. Through the mediation of Lord Stanley the resignation was withdrawn. This was at the close of 1861, but in April 1862 he laid down the cares of office, and closed a long and honourable Indian career. The Home Government recognised his services by the unusual grant of a pension of 1,000*l.* a year, and by a seat at the Board of the Council of India.

The services rendered to the State by the Military Finance Commission have been alluded to elsewhere. It was convened first in 1859, under the presidentship of Col. Balfour, of the Madras Army, a son-in-law of the famous

economist Joseph Hume. Colonel Balfour was succeeded in 1862 by Colonel Browne, the author of the unfinished but valued work on the "History of the Bengal Army."

The Police Commission closed its proceedings, and sent in its report in this year, for which they received the thanks of Government. When their labours commenced, they found the local government was spending no less than three millions sterling upon their police. At the committee's recommendation this was reduced to two millions. Assuming the population of British India to be 132,750,168, spread over an area of 835,837 square miles, they allotted one constable, costing 130 rupees a year, to every square mile, or every thousand inhabitants. This would give 150,000 policemen for all India, at a cost of 1,949,532*l*. The new system was first carried out in the Madras Presidency, with every indication of success, but the committee had a stout battle to fight in Bengal and the North-West Provinces before they obtained a recognition of the principle that the magistrate who tries the criminal shall not be the detective to catch him; and that while the police are trained to act together in an *émeute*, they may not render themselves dangerous by combination. These were the principles upon which Sir Charles Napier formed his police in Sind in 1843, and which were subsequently introduced into Bombay, Burmah, Oude, the Punjab, and the North-West Provinces.¹ The system, however, has since been much modified, and in fact, as far as power of combination goes, and influence in the country, and the capacity for mischief, should they be disposed to act mischievously and follow the example of the old Bengal Army, the present police force possesses nearly all the faults, with none of the few good points, which distinguished the native army. The moral effect of the present system upon the country at large has been further considered in the chapter on Legislation.

¹ *Friend of India*.

CHAPTER VII.

1863.

Sir Charles Trevelyan—Lord Elgin—The Honourable G. Edmondstone—Official life in India as compared with England—Secret disaffection—Wahabeeism—Mr. William Tayler—The Patna plot—Lord Elgin's last journey—His death—Sir John Lawrence appointed Viceroy—Sir William Denison acts as Viceroy—Agricultural improvements—The commercial crisis—Absorption of silver.

EARLY in this year Sir Charles Trevelyan returned to India in the capacity of Finance Minister. After his recall from the Governorship of Madras—a measure necessary for the maintenance of the prestige and authority of the Viceroy—his appointment to India was the best testimony that could possibly be given to the estimation in which he was held by Sir Charles Wood and the other members of her Majesty's Government. It can readily be believed that the duty of recalling the insubordinate Governor of Madras was a painful one to the Secretary of State, for he was well known to be a personal friend of Sir Charles Trevelyan, with whom he had been associated many years in the Treasury. That the mode in which he had carried out his duties as Governor had met with the fullest approbation of his superior is clear from the eulogistic terms in which Sir C. Wood alludes to them. He said that "no servant of the Crown had more earnestly endeavoured to carry out the great principles of government which were promulgated to the provinces and people of India in Her Majesty's proclamation."

On the other hand, Sir Charles Trevelyan's acceptance of an appointment so much less valuable in point of position

and emolument than that of which he had been deprived, shows that he was too high-minded to allow a recollection of what he must have regarded in the light of an injury, to rankle in his breast. And no one can read his able and masterly exposition of the financial condition of the country, in his budget statements from 1863 to 1866, without the conviction that had the Home Government lost the benefit of his ability and experience, owing to the unhappy publication of the minute on the income-tax of 1860-1, it would have paid dearly for the satisfaction or the duty of punishing an insubordinate official.

To the public in India, especially in the Madras Presidency, and that large portion of the official community which ever regarded the income-tax with disfavour, Sir Charles Trevelyan's return as Finance Member of Council was looked on as a triumph. It was indeed a tacit though very unmistakeable acknowledgment, that however much the course he took in condemnation of Mr. Wilson's policy was open to censure, the opinions he then held were recognised as sound. Viewing as a whole the financial measures adopted from 1859 to 1863, it is clear that the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Laing laboured so hard to attain was mainly due to reductions in public establishments; and it was to this, rather than to the imposition of new taxes, or the increase of former duties, the finance minister should have looked. The mischievous results, however, that were anticipated from the income-tax never occurred. It was highly unpopular, and unfair in its operation, as it fell much more heavily, in proportion to their numbers and their incomes, on the European than on the native community. The proceeds realized were much below the estimates, and the best authorities concur in regarding it as an impost to which in India nothing but extreme necessity could justify resort.¹

¹ Since the above was written, Sir R. Temple has introduced his budget, and procured the re-imposition of the income-tax to the extent

Sir Charles Trevelyan landed at Madras on his way up the Bay of Bengal, to receive the congratulations of his friends.

The calm and somewhat torpid existence of Madras society was stirred into unwonted activity by the appearance of an official who seemed really popular; addresses were delivered and speeches made, and after a vast quantity of powder had been expended in fireworks, the ex-Governor re-embarked on board the steamer that was to convey him to the new field of his exertions.

Sir Charles Trevelyan landed on the 13th January. On the 5th February, Lord Elgin left Calcutta for a tour in the Upper Provinces, little dreaming that he was destined never again to visit the seat of government. He held durbars at Patna—at that very time, though it was not discovered till afterwards, the seat of a dangerous conspiracy—at Agra, and other places. At the latter city he met the principal chiefs and independent rulers of the different states in Rajpootana and Central India, on the same site which had witnessed the interview between Lord Canning and the native potentates. The grandeur and magnificence of the

of one per cent. But the soundness of the views expressed in the text will, I think, be shown by the statement of Sir R. Temple in proposing his Bill, to the effect that out of the whole population of India the number of persons who would pay the tax upon an income over 50*l* a year was only 150,000. These figures speak for themselves. The inference to be drawn from this is rendered still more clear by a table published by the *Friend of India*, March 16, 1869, showing the number of persons who paid the income-tax of 1861-2 on incomes above 50*l*. per annum. In the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras respectively, there were for incomes between 50*l*. and 100*l*. a year, 10,000, 5,000, and 1,500; for incomes above 100*l*., 7,000, 5,000, 1,000. That it should be represented that in Bombay there were not more than 5,000 persons drawing an income of above 100*l* a year is in itself a *reductio ad absurdum* which needs no further comment. The result of the returns from the Presidencies, apart from the Presidency towns, is even more striking. In Bengal, Bombay, the North-West Provinces, and Madras, the returns show 50,000, 30,000, 30,000, and 15,000 persons respectively in the receipt of incomes between 50*l*. and 100*l*. a year; above 100*l*. a year, they are 14,000, 10,000, 11,000, and 5,000.

viceregal durbar of 1859 was here repeated, if possible on a larger scale, and with a greater display of barbaric wealth and pomp. From Agra the Viceroy passed on by easy stages to Simla, repeating the somewhat monotonous ceremonial of the durbar in one or two other places. At Simla he remained till the autumn, when he set out on the fatal tour that ended in a grave on the lonely summit of the Himalayas.

Early in the year, the Hon. Mr. Edmondstone's term as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces came to a close. He had succeeded to the post after the interregnum which ensued subsequent to the death of Mr. Colvin, who succumbed to care and over-work in the early period of the rebellion. He died soon after his return to England, having survived but a short period to enjoy the honour of a family baronetcy that descended to him almost immediately after his retirement. It must have been constantly remarked by those who have friends in India, how frequently death cuts off the retired official or man of business a short time after his return to his native land. The usual platitudes are uttered on the occasion, and each hale, robust old man, as he sinks into the grave, prematurely, even at the age he has reached, is looked upon as another instance of the ravages of an Oriental climate. The truth is, that in many cases men who leave India at the usual age for retiring on a pension or from business, are in just as good health as their compeers who have been struggling on in some profession or career at home all the time, and mean to struggle on and to be busy, thriving, rising men for many years yet; while the Anglo-Indian, with his pension and his Five per Cents., need not trouble himself to keep in harness any longer. Men in official or business life in India work, as a rule, much harder and more continuously than their compeers in England. There are several inducements to this: one is the hope of a more speedy return, and another is the absence of any temptation to idleness. Work is often the only refuge from the

inconveniences of a residence in a tropical climate, or the depression which a life often of lonely exile and separation from family intercourse is calculated to produce.* And so the Anglo-Indian toils on for the best part of his life, buoyed with the hope of retirement, with his nervous system often strung up to the highest pitch, his physical and mental powers strained to the point—sometimes beyond the point—where the intellectual faculties can be maintained in the most efficient working order, till the moment of retirement, when all work suddenly ceases. Occasionally, of course, men do overstrain themselves, but as a rule it is not the overstraining, but the abrupt relaxation of the mind and the sudden unstringing of the nervous system consequent on the change from hard work to complete idleness, that lands the majority of retired Indians in the grave shortly after their return to England.

Mr. Edmondstone was probably the best selection Lord Canning could have made for the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. It was no easy post, for these provinces had been the principal seat of the rebellion. It was here the storm had raged with its greatest fury, and the shattered fragments of wrecked institutions were strewn far and wide. In no part of India—except, of course, Oude—had the ruin and devastation been anything like so severe as in the North-West. When Lord Canning made over his charge to Mr. Edmondstone in 1858, it was as if he had put him in command of a wrecked ship, with fragments of broken spars and tangled rigging strewn over the deck, while the vessel was moving slowly under patchwork sails and jury-masts. It required a firm hand to take the helm under such circumstances. Mr. Edmondstone had served during the latter part of his career in the Punjab, and he brought to the duties of his new charge more liberal views and independence of mind than would have been found in a civilian like Sir John Peter Grant, for instance, or Mr. Beadon. At the same time, Mr. Edmondstone as Lieutenant-Governor displayed none of the peculiar charac-

teristics of the Punjab school. He became merged in the regulations, and worked as a wheel—a very efficient wheel, no doubt—in the machinery by which the executive government went on. Had a Lawrence or a Montgomery been in his place, he would have put himself at the head of every movement instead of being carried along with it ; he would have directed and controlled, superintended and stimulated the work of resuscitation and renewal, instead of remaining content with being himself one of the parts of the machine that effected those results. Mr. Edmondstone's career was marked by no failures, nor was it characterised by any successes. The fragments of the wrecked institutions were picked up and put together, and made as efficient as possible under the circumstances. He went steadily to Nynce Tal every summer ; and though you heard of the government of the North-West Provinces, you seldom heard of Mr. Edmondstone's government.

He was succeeded by the Hon. E. Drummond, a Bengal civilian taken from the Financial Department to fill the post of pro-consul over a province he had up to that time never even seen. The history of his five years' tenure of office, which expired in 1868, may be briefly dismissed with the remark that, while carefully watching over the interests of his own service, he originated little or nothing for the benefit of the thirty millions of population committed to his care. Strongly imbued with all the traditional prejudices of the old Bengal school, he showed himself the determined enemy of European progress in the country ; and beyond one or two feeble efforts to follow the example of the Punjab in the matter of public exhibitions, his career was marked by no features of general interest.

While to all external appearances the political condition of India was at this time one of profound repose, there were symptoms, which were observed only by those who had the means of getting a glimpse occasionally below the surface of native society, indicating that the restless spirit of Asiatic intrigue was still actively at work.

It was not till long afterwards that a full revelation was made of a conspiracy, whose most remarkable characteristic, perhaps, was the extent to which its ramifications had spread without attracting notice, rather than the capacity of the conspirators for carrying out their designs. Vague rumours had been flying about the country for some time previously, of an agitation among the 'Mahommedans, consequent on the approach of a period foretold by sundry prophecies, when a prince and a deliverer, the Imam Mehndi, was to appear, whose advent should herald a tremendous conflict between Mahommedanism and Christianity, great political revolutions, and a series of events terminating with the destruction of the world. Why this new prophet, or reviver of Islam, was to appear from the North-West, is not so easy to determine. But, with the exception of the British conquest, all the great revolutions and political movements that have affected India have invariably come from the North-West. To the modern Indian, among all the uneducated and even with some of the better-educated classes, the regions of Central Asia are a *terra incognita*, surrounded with a cloud of awe and mystery, with which the imagination of a superstitious people is always too prone to invest a neighbouring country that is shut in by ranges of lofty mountains, inhabited by strange races, and which has been in past times the cradle of heroes and warriors. Vague reminiscences and traditions, the fragments of an imperfect history, keep alive the memory of Timour, Mahmoud, and Nadir Shah, and the other conquerors who, issuing from the North, poured their hordes like a devastating flood upon the defenceless plains of Hindostan; while in more modern times, and within the recollection of the present generation, the tragic story of the Affghan war has added an element of reality to the cloud of myth and romance that hangs over the regions where the half-dreaded, half-expected, but all uncertain power of the Roos¹ is supposed in every bazar and

¹ Russia is so called in the East.

every homestead in India to be making its way slowly but surely to the frontier. Whatever may be the reason, there is no doubt of the fact that, among Mahommedans generally, there is a belief and expectation that the hand yet destined to revolutionize India is to come from beyond the Indus.

Wahabeeism, which may be described generally as a revival of pure Mahommedanism, has been preached with great activity in many parts of India for many years, especially during 1862 and 1863. Wahabeeism, in itself, has no direct bearing against the British power. It is a religious rather than a political movement. But, inasmuch as its object is to restore the pure worship of Islam throughout India, the destruction of all opposing principles and systems is a necessary means to the end. Religious enthusiasm is always formidable; and the principles of the Wahabee preacher are those which, while they allow no quarter to an enemy, promise Paradise to the true believer who falls sword in hand fighting for the faith. For years Patna has been known to be the head-quarters of Wahabeeism in India; and it was Mr. William Tayler's great foresight in seizing the heads of the movement in 1857 that saved Behar, and probably Bengal, from the horrors of the rebellion. Mr. William Tayler was then Commissioner of Patna. But the men he seized were powerful and wealthy; their friends had the ear of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It was at the time of Lord Canning's thralldom to the clique of narrow-minded councillors, to whom India owes so many of the disasters of 1857; and Mr. W. Tayler was disgraced and driven from the service, and for a time professionally ruined. But the crisis was past; the blow had intimidated the conspirators, and Behar and Bengal were saved. Time has shown the wisdom of his policy; one by one the malefactors he seized have been marked down by the slower operation of the ordinary laws; and the last remnant—the last that has as yet come to light—of the conspiracy was broken up in 1863 and 1864.

The story is worth the study of Indian politicians, for it shows even more forcibly than does the history of 1857, how our dominion in India is ever liable to be threatened by the operations of secret organization. So totally separated are the English community from the native, so slender and superficial are the links that connect the two, and so little is the sympathy between them, that the English official world is absolutely in the dark as to everything that goes on beneath the surface of native society. It is as in the physical world, where the inhabitants of cities, situated in a volcanic country, are ever liable to be overwhelmed by the sudden outbreak of forces that are at work unseen beneath the soil.

The note of warning was first given by the press, the editor of one of the journals of Upper India having, through a native correspondent, obtained one of the inflammatory Wahabee pamphlets then in circulation. Valuable information was also afforded by an old Sikh priest, who had behaved with remarkable fidelity to the British Government during the rebellion.¹

¹ This man's history illustrates the fate of too many of those who were loyal to us in 1857, to be passed over. He was the owner of considerable property, the head Gooroo, or Sikh priest, of the city of Agra. His conduct in 1857 had made him a marked man, and after order had been restored a criminal charge was brought against him, as was the case with so many of those who aroused the enmity of their fellow-countrymen by taking part with the British Government. If investigation could be made, it would be found that an astonishing number of those who were loyal have since either been reduced to beggary by legal processes or have died in jail under some criminal charge, which is very easily got up in India. The Sikh Gooroo was tried by the judge, assisted by assessors who were Europeans. These assessors have not the power and functions of a jury, for their award may be set aside. The assessors in this case found the man not guilty, the evidence being clearly fabricated, but the judge overruled them, and the Gooroo was sent to jail in irons. The case was referred to the Lieutenant-Governor, and eventually the Sudder Court directed the man's release. Yet the order for his release was out a fortnight before the victim could be got out of jail. On one pretext or another the officials about the judge's court and the jail contrived to get his liberation postponed.

The information thus acquired was privately communicated to Government, as well as the names of several of the most active Wahabee preachers in the Punjab, some of whom were themselves Government *employés*. The next link connecting the conspiracy with Patna was discovered in a curious manner by Captain Parsons.

The story of the plot is closely interwoven with that of the Umbeyla campaign, which originated in military operations directed against a colony of Hindostanee fanatics, at a place called Sittana, on the right bank of the Indus. The campaign occupied all the latter part of 1863 and the beginning of 1864, and is of sufficient importance to claim a chapter to itself. Accordingly, it has been related somewhat with more detail than would be practicable here, in a future portion of the work.

There was a sergeant of mounted police, under Captain Parsons' command, who was a native of Eusofzye, a tract in the Peshawur valley, and who had been at Sittana. One day in May 1863, when at Kurnaul near Delhi, he saw four travellers, whom he recognised as Sittana men. He entered into conversation with them, and soon managed to worm out their secret. They were emissaries from the Sittana people, bound for Bengal, to collect men and money for the war which they were then preparing to wage against the British power. The men were arrested and taken before the magistrate, who treated the story as mythical, and released the travellers. Nothing daunted at the rebuff, the sergeant sent his son all the way to Mulka, one of the principal head-quarters of the fanatics near Sittana, to find out the parties with whom these four emissaries had put up on their way through Thanesur,

When he did get out, his property had been most of it plundered, none of his relatives having sufficient power to protect it. Had it not been for the accidental circumstance of this man's having some friends among the non-official European community on the spot, he must have died in jail. The few natives who stood by us in 1857 did so at a greater sacrifice than most Englishmen are aware of.

a large city near Umballa. By this means the discovery was made that one named Jaffir Ally, at Thanesur, was the medium through which the conspirators were assisted with men and money. The clue thus found was put into the hands of Captain Parsons, who was told to follow it up.

Captain Parsons at once searched the house of Jaffir Ally, who was a petty civil officer and a licensed vendor of stamps, and among other letters found one addressed to one Mahomed Shuffee, a rich man, who held a large contract under the Commissariat for the supply of butcher's meat to the European troops. Subsequent information was received which induced the authorities to arrest Jaffir Ally, and Captain Parsons was sent to seize him, but he had fled; after a pursuit, however, of about two hundred miles, the energetic officer overtook and captured him at Allyghur.

As the evidence which had been collected clearly pointed to Patna as the head-quarters of the conspiracy, Captain Parsons was deputed to that place to conduct the investigation, and various arrests were made. Indeed, this nest of Wahabeeism was for a time pretty well broken up. The conspirators were all tried at Umballa, and some very curious and significant revelations came out during the inquiry. This Mahomed Shuffee, or Shaffayut Ally, had a contract to supply the troops with meat in every garrison and camp from Delhi to beyond the Indus. It may therefore be easily conceived what a valuable ally he was. A man of great wealth, and consequently of some importance, he could obtain access to any European officer of any rank. His agents, servants, *employés*, swarmed at every station where there was a European regiment. Recruits for the enemy at Sittana actually marched up with the very detachments, regiments, and brigades that were on their way to operate against them, in disguise as Mahomed Shuffee's servants or Commissariat subordinates: while, by means of his agencies at all the different stations, he

transmitted money collected for the cause by emissaries who went about preaching in all the large cities, even down as far as Dacca : while recruits were sent up from places equally distant, all through the heart of India, travelling along the Grand Trunk road, putting up at serais, confronted every day, and many times in the day, by our police. The usual Oriental system of metaphor was adopted in all the correspondence between the agents and the leaders of the movement. In their phraseology Patna was called the "bara godown," or the great warehouse ; and Sittana the "little warehouse," or the wholesale and retail store. How long this had been going on was uncertain. The evidence adduced went to show it had been in progress for at least two years. Some of the witnesses describe, in the most *naïve* manner, their disappointment on arriving at Sittana, after a long journey from some place in Bengal, perhaps a distance of two thousand miles, at not finding the Prophet, who, to do them justice, appears to have been the first person they asked for. They were ordered to drill instead of to prayer ; and, sorely against their will, sent to fight, which some of them refusing, they were at once put in confinement.

The story shows how slow our Government are to take warning even after the lesson of 1857, and how easily a plot of this kind can be carried on, these operations having proceeded uninterruptedly and unsuspected for at least two years, the head centre of the movement being the army meat contractor.

The most extraordinary feature of the case is the disproportionate result produced by all this secret preaching and canvassing, plotting and contriving. The Sittana fanatics certainly gave our troops some trouble, and fought with desperate energy. Unable to realize the importance of the movement, Lord Elgin, like Lord Canning before him at the beginning of 1857, took wholly inefficient measures to meet the emergency. Before leaving Simla on his tour through the mountains to Lahore, he had

directed a brigade to be sent against Sittana, under the command of Sir Neville Chamberlain. It is only necessary to remark here that the mistake of underrating the enemy was found out too late—too late, at least, to ward off very unhappy consequences.

Mahomed Shuffee, and the other conspirators, were mostly found guilty of treason; the leading men were condemned to death, but the sentence was remitted by the court of appeal, and eventually none of them suffered capitally.

Lord Elgin's route led him through the Kangra hills, whence he was to descend to the plains, and join his camp, which was pitched at a place called Pathankote, at the foot of the mountains. The valley of the Kangra district is considered by some to be the most beautiful in all India excepting Cashmere, which has never been deprived of the crown given her by the pen and poetry of Moore. How much of the position which Cashmere holds is owing to the fancy of the popular poet, they can judge who have had the opportunity of seeing the valley and comparing it with the grand panoramas of majestic beauty in which the Himalaya mountains are so rich. Lord Canning especially admired the scenery of Kangra, a lovely valley surrounded by lofty mountains lying between two rivers—the Ravee and Sutlege—and bounded on one side by the territories of Cashmere and Chumba, and on the other by Koolloo, Spiti and Ladak. "Various races of men, belonging to distinct types of the human family and speaking different languages, are distributed over its surface. Here are hills just raised above the level of the plains, and mountain crests higher than any peaks of the Andes. Every tone of climate and variety of vegetation is here to be met with, from the scorching heat and exuberant growth of the tropics, to barren heights, destitute of verdure, and capped with perpetual snow. Hills dissolve into gentle slopes, and platforms of tableland and valleys become convulsed and upheaved, so as no longer to be

distinguished from the ridges which environ them. I know no spot in the Himalayas which for beauty can compete with the Kangra valley and the overshadowing hills. No scenery, in my opinion, presents such sublime and delightful contrasts. Below lies the plain, a picture of rural loveliness and repose. The surface is covered with the richest cultivation, irrigated by streams which descend from perennial snows, and interspersed with homesteads buried in the midst of groves and fruit trees. Turning from this scene of peaceful beauty, the stern and majestic hills above Dhurmsalla confront you. Their sides are furrowed with precipitous watercourses. Forests of oak clothe their flank, and higher up give place to gloomy and funereal pines. Above all, are wastes of snow or pyramidal masses of granite, too perpendicular for the snow to rest upon."¹

It is upon scenery such as this that the pretty little village of Dhurmsalla, the last resting-place of Lord Elgin, looks down. It is approached from the Simla direction by the Rotung Pass, at an elevation of 16,000 feet above the level of the sea. Thoroughly enjoying the magnificent scenery of the mountain ranges, Lord Elgin sat for a whole hour on the summit of the pass exposed to a keen cutting wind. After this, he resolved rashly to cross a famous bridge near the same spot, constructed of twigs and branches of trees, a feat which at any time requires considerable nerve, besides great physical exertion. The terrors of the passage were heightened at the time by the swollen condition of the torrent that thundered below. It is not every man that can safely travel in the interior of the Himalayas, for you are always liable to a sudden and unexpected strain on the nerves. Nor can the venturesome traveller who scales the dizzy height by a pathway a foot wide, or crosses foaming torrents by bridges made of a single rope, or twigs, always calculate beforehand the extent to which his nervous system will be tested, or the amount of physical exertion it will be necessary to put

¹ Settlement Report of the late Mr. George Barnes, Commissioner.

forth. With youth, health, good spirits, and presence of mind, a man may pass through many dangers which, if they encountered him at an advanced age, with failing powers and weakened nerves, might prove fatal. Had Lord Elgin been a younger man, he would have had resources to draw upon. As it was, he overtasked himself. He was at the time suffering from an affection of the heart, which might have been aggravated by the rarity of the atmosphere at that great elevation, and was certainly aggravated by the unwonted exertion. His sitting on the summit of the pass so long was a most imprudent act for a man not in robust health and over-fatigued. The attempt to cross the bridge was worse. The nervous system could not sustain the shock, or the physical exertion required to bring him safely on to *terra firma* was too much.

Fear is hardly the emotion you undergo when you suddenly find yourself on the edge of some tremendous precipice, or on a narrow plank, or a loose rope bridge with a roaring torrent and an abyss below. It occasionally happens to a traveller in the Himalayas, not accustomed to mountain paths and crags or precipices, to find himself suddenly in some such position, and then all depends on the extent to which his nervous system answers the sudden and unexpected call made upon it. To judge by the expression of Lord Elgin's features when he reached the bank, that call had been answered, but at the expense of life. It showed how tremendous the struggle had been. But he had conquered, and had unassisted reached the bank in safety, when he endeavoured to persuade himself and those about him that he was suffering merely from excess of fatigue. After this, the camp moved slowly along the narrow hill roads over the summit of the mountains, down their rugged sides, across the valleys, over the watercourses, and on from stage to stage till they reached the lovely spot called Dhurmsalla. Here there is a small British settlement, a

regiment of Goorkhas, and a few civil officers with their families, completing the little circle of English society, which is augmented every summer by visitors from the neighbouring towns in the Punjab.

Too ill to ride, the Viceroy had been carried in a litter, and his physician, Dr. Macrae, telegraphed for from Calcutta. It was deemed inadvisable to move the patient beyond Dhurmsalla. Then came grave consultations, and the anxious inquiry, alas! too familiar to those whose lot is cast in India, often asked many times in a day, if the patient can bear the journey to the sea. Here it was out of the question. The short story of Lord Elgin's last illness and death is full of melancholy pathos, yet the picture is so softened with the tints of peacefulness and repose which cheer the last hours of the dying Christian, that the contemplation of it gives rise to many feelings besides mere grief and sorrow. Here, amid the glories and grandeur of that mountain scenery, where every crag and rock,—the snow-capped peaks tossing their summits into the sky so far as to seem as if they belonged to some other world, and not to this; bleak, barren, lifeless regions of eternal snow; the bold, steep precipices whose face the bird alone can scale; mountain torrents roaring down their rocky beds, and tumbling in wild revelry a hundred feet at a time over some cascade,—where every feature of external nature speaks to the mind of the power and majesty of the Creator; within view of the smiling valleys which, lying as they do close up to the foot of the hills, seem as full of lessons of love and mercy as their giant guardians are of terror and majesty and awe: amid such scenery as this, far from his native land, but tended in his last moments by his wife, Lord Elgin awaited the message of death.

For lessons of patience and faith in the last hour, we are generally sent to the death-bed of the poor and humble. But in that distant though lovely spot in the Himalayas, there was one calmly and peacefully contemplating the approach of dissolution, who had a large share of the world's honours

and wealth to leave this side the grave. In perfect possession of his faculties, Lord Elgin made his will, arranged his affairs, and even gave detailed instructions as to his funeral. When it was found that there was no hope of recovery, a chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Baldwin, had been summoned from Lahore—not, as is too often the case when clergymen are summoned to the bedside of a dying man, to hold out the hope of repentance then for the first time embraced, but to solace and to cheer, and to accompany to the verge of the grave the soul that was about, not unprepared, to meet its God. So long had he lingered thus between life and death, so fully had he arranged, as it were, all the preparations for his journey, that the coffin had been ready many days before it was required, and the design for the tomb and the stone and inscription had been ready planned and fixed upon. It was his thoughtful care for Lady Elgin that induced him to press on these preparations, usually left to the mourners after death. But he would spare her the painful details, and wished that after his departure she might see the whole complete before she quitted the spot for ever. Lady Elgin herself selected the site for the tomb, which is marked by a plain massive stone and inscription, and a cross, also of stone, twenty-seven feet in height.

So died, on the 20th November, 1863, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.T., G.C.B., K.S.I.

He was the eldest son of the Earl of Elgin whose name is inseparably associated with the "Elgin Marbles" in the British Museum, which the Earl had removed when he was ambassador at Constantinople. As Governor-General of Canada, Lord Elgin had exhibited considerable aptitude for the difficult work of controlling and soothing down the excitement of party rancour, of amalgamating discordant elements, and introducing broad principles of sound political economy in place of an administration conducted to suit the selfish interests of individuals and cliques. It is said to have been a wish formed early in life that he might become

Governor-General of India. If so, he affords an instance of a man living to attain the object of his early ambition, though not permitted to enjoy it long.

Lord Elgin's experience in representative government, gained in Canada, would have been but of little use to him in India. Up to the time of his death, he had not been long enough in the country to acquire the knowledge which it is necessary for a Viceroy new to the country to possess, before he can inaugurate or adopt any particular line of policy. It is impossible therefore to know, as it is now fruitless to inquire, whether he would have answered the high expectations formed of him, and which his success in the post he had held previously in a measure justified.

The news of his death reached England a few days after the event. The eyes of the Government were becoming opened to the gravity of the political crisis on the frontier, enhanced by rumours of secret disaffection in the provinces. The danger from the latter source appeared all the greater from the uncertainty attending it. That there was a movement of some kind going on among the Mahommedan population, and that it was instigated by the preachers of Wahabecism, was indeed known, but it was not till December of this year that Captain Parsons was able to discover the connecting link between the Patna conspiracy and the action on the frontier. Under the circumstances, the Government set aside all considerations of party feeling, and nominated the best man they could find to take the helm when there were portents boding stormy weather on the political horizon ; and for the first time in the history of India a member of the Indian Civil Service whose previous career had given him a claim to something more than the credit of a successful Indian official, was appointed Viceroy. Sir John Lawrence's nomination was variously regarded in India. By some it was hailed with acclamations, but in the higher ranks of his own service Sir John's merits had been more tardily recognised than elsewhere, either from a feeling of jealousy, or from an idea prevalent among his former

associates and contemporaries that he had been somewhat overrated in England after 1857-8. But England could not forget the claims of the man who had done so much to steer her out of a great difficulty. At home, men saw in Sir John Lawrence the vigorous administrator who had saved the Punjab, and then with the resources of the Punjab had come to the rescue. Men of his own service in India saw in him the quondam collector, and the lucky commissioner who had climbed into eminence on the ladder of his brother's fame. In England, men saw that the Punjab system had succeeded when other systems had completely failed, and rejoiced to think that the man who had inaugurated, might now be in a position to extend it. Those on the spot, who had a nearer view of that much-vaunted system, could see its faults, which statesmen afar off could not. They knew it to be a system well adapted for a new province, and calculated to work well in the hands of a man of genius and vigour, but they also knew that the system had already developed its own inherent defects, and would in the ordinary course of things continue to develop them still more under the control of less able minds; and they dreaded lest they should see all India undergoing the process of Punjabization. Thus Sir John Lawrence's advent as Viceroy was hailed with different feelings. Old Indian civilians shook their heads. The younger ones were divided between the opinion of their seniors, and the compliment paid to their service by the selection of one of its members for the post. With military men and the non-official community the appointment was generally popular. Among the natives it was popular too, as far as popularity can be claimed at all from such a quarter: they felt that at last India had a Viceroy who would not have to go to school for the first three years of his incumbency. But the effect of the selection was most marked in the immediate subsidence of all that petty effervescence of disaffection that had been so long agitating the substrata of native society.

Upon the death of Lord Elgin the temporary vacancy was filled by Sir William Denison, who went round from Madras to Calcutta, taking his staff with him, to enjoy for a brief period the honours of the viceregal office. Sir Wm. Denison had not been popular in Madras. The charge brought against him was the same that may be urged against every new governor of a colony or a dependency, who sees it for the first time as its ruler—that of doing nothing. It is, in fact, impossible for a Viceroy strange to the country to do much for the first year or two but apply the whole powers of his mind to learning the nature of the duties entailed by his new position, and acquiring information about the country and the people. In the difficult question of land tenure Sir William Denison refused to be entangled. But in the extension of education and the general improvement of the country, measures which required the application only of broad principles of administration, he did exert himself. He had lately advanced a scheme for the introduction by Government of agricultural implements, which it appeared to him were so much required in lieu of the rude contrivances the ryots and zemindars had received from their forefathers. Sir William Denison was right so far, but the main difficulty to be overcome was not to procure the implements, but to induce the natives to use them. The rude country cart, and the plough that barely scratches the surface of the soil, the primitive apparatus for irrigating the fields, which may be constructed out of the materials the fields themselves supply, are probably the same now as they were a thousand years ago, or at the earliest commencement of agricultural enterprise. The natives are satisfied with them; they will use no other. English ploughs, steam-pumps, spades and wheelbarrows are articles they will not use—at least of their own accord—because their fathers and forefathers before them were content without these things. For a long while after wheelbarrows were introduced in the Public Works Department, and forced upon the coolies on the

roads, whenever the eye of the European overseer was turned away they would load the barrows and put them on the heads of three men, one supporting the wheel and the two others the legs, and so convey the material. What Sir William Denison should have done if he had wanted to introduce agricultural improvements into India, was not to procure the necessary implements, but to endeavour to introduce such changes in the system of administration as would admit of and encourage the settlement of European capitalists (not colonists) as farmers on a large scale, or zemindars. Where a European has occupied this position, a marked improvement has been observed in the condition of the labourer. Not only the ryots on his own land or farm, but all in the neighbourhood within a practicable distance, soon get to look up to him, to resort to him for advice and protection, for medical aid in time of sickness. They see him working with improved implements, and they appreciate the advantages he derives from them ; and after a while, if left to themselves, will begin to wish for them. Precept goes for little with the natives of India. Example goes a great way, especially if they are left to gather their own impressions from what they see, and are not forced to embrace the convictions of others. It was a bad day for India when the excitement consequent on the indigo disturbances in Bengal left the impression on the public mind that the European planter was the oppressor, and not the friend of the ryot. But while Sir William Denison aimed at the introduction of improved agricultural implements, the complaints of the planters in Wynaad against his obstructive measures, and the little encouragement afforded them in the construction of roads, indicated a neglect of the only means calculated to effect his object.

A question of the utmost importance engaged Sir William Denison's attention immediately on his arrival at Calcutta. To appreciate thoroughly the nature of the crisis, an acquaintance with the outlines of the Umbeyla campaign is indispensable. Our troops had entered a

difficult country in the mountains beyond the Indus, in pursuance of a plan of the campaign sketched by General Sir Neville Chamberlain, in conjunction with Colonel Taylor, the civil officer in charge of that portion of the North-West frontier. Opposed first by physical obstacles and then by political difficulties, the force had come to a standstill in a mountain pass surrounded by hostile tribes. Incessant fighting and great losses had reduced the strength of the division to a condition of dangerous weakness, in spite of the reinforcements which were being pushed up with all haste to the scene of danger. All the neighbouring garrisons had been denuded of troops for this purpose. The fanaticism of the warlike trans-Indus tribes had been thoroughly aroused, the Akhoond of Swat was preaching a holy war against the infidel, and we were threatened with a most formidable combination, and a hostile movement against our whole frontier. The bulk of the army consisted of native troops, enlisted in a great measure from among the very tribes who were now being called to arms against us. Hitherto they had indeed behaved nobly, but the instincts of human nature taught us that there must be a limit to their fidelity when incessant appeals were made to their patriotism and fanaticism, and when they saw us hesitating to advance, and holding with daily decreasing strength, though with unabated determination and bravery, the position we had gained. Lord Elgin lay lingering in his last illness, utterly unable to attend to business, and a heavy responsibility devolved upon Sir Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. From the frontier post the officers in charge reported the excitement of the neighbouring tribes, and their growing determination to take part in the war. A persistence in offensive measures appeared as if it would lead with certainty to an expensive and an extended campaign. To make matters worse, General Chamberlain lay badly wounded and unable to attend to business, while the tribes were gathering in front,

increasing daily in strength, and a disaster would have set the whole country in a flame. Sir Robert Montgomery yielded to a sense of responsibility, and telegraphed to the General his permission to retire, without regard to political considerations, if he deemed it advisable. The effect of this was to shift the responsibility on to the shoulders of the officer in command of the force, now disabled by a serious wound.

Sir Hugh Rose, who was a member of the Supreme Government, as well as Commander-in-chief, was with Lord Elgin in his last illness. Upon the emergency arising, he left the Governor-General's camp and hastened to Lahore, where he remonstrated most strongly upon the proposed withdrawal of the troops, and ordered fresh reinforcements by forced marches to the frontier. At that time there were 25,000 troops north of the Jhelum. Sir William Denison arrived in Calcutta on the 1st December, and found the majority of the Council, in spite of Sir Hugh Rose's remonstrances and the opinions of the civil and military officers on the spot, in favour of withdrawing the force. At once his judgment pointed out to him the disastrous consequences of such a step. Unfettered by that fear of responsibility which is the inevitable tendency of an official mind accustomed always to one groove and ever dependent upon the authority of a superior, Sir William Denison set aside the timid counsels of his advisers, and at length induced them to cancel their final decision. He wrote:¹ "The Government, yielding to these pressing instances, conceded to the wish of the Lieutenant-Governor, and gave directions on November 26th that the troops should be withdrawn as soon as it could be done without risk of military disaster, or without seriously compromising our military reputation. . . . My opinion was, and is, that the withdrawal of the troops from what has proved to be merely a defensive position would be con-

¹ "The Sittana Campaign." By Sir John Adye, C.B., Bengal Artillery.

sidered by the mountain tribes as equivalent to a victory ; and although I do not doubt the possibility of withdrawing the force without serious loss, I yet felt convinced that the moral effect of such a move upon our troops would be of the worst description. I was, and am of opinion, that a movement in retreat would probably bring about all the financial difficulties so vividly described by Sir Charles Trevelyan : for the certain result would be such a series of aggressions on the part of the mountain tribes, elated by their supposed success in causing us to retreat, as would compel us to make a more serious attack upon them in the course of the next year, for the purpose of asserting our superiority."

It was a fortunate moment indeed for India that Sir William Denison appeared upon the scene at that crisis ; for a retreat would have not only brought upon us an invasion which might have sorely taxed our resources to resist, but would have destroyed the confidence of our native troops, and endangered a second mutiny even more disastrous than the first. In addition to which, the movement which provoked the Umbeyla campaign, as was fully shown afterwards, was a deep-seated spirit of disaffection, which had spread over one-half of India at least. Retreat under such circumstances would have been to the last degree disastrous.

Having calmed the fears of his Council, and brought them to see the matter in its true light, Sir William Denison telegraphed to Lahore, expressing his entire confidence in the measures undertaken by Sir Hugh Rose, and desiring that the operations might be pushed on with vigour and determination—and India was saved a second rebellion.

During the whole of 1863, the spirit of commercial speculation, first aroused by the discovery of the inexhaustible character of India's natural resources, and awakened into thorough vitality by the rise in the value of cotton consequent on the American war, was unusually active.

It partially developed itself in the mania for tea cultivation, alluded to in a former chapter, but it was very far from confining itself to that limit. For a while it seemed as if all the European community in India had gone mad after Joint Stock Companies. Members of both services, from top to bottom, speculated in some company or other. If ten men met at a dinner table, five being officers of the army and five of the civil service, the chances were that ere the first course was removed the conversation would turn upon the share list; one would have shares in a steam tug, another in a coal mine, a third in a general dealer's business, a fourth in a wine company, a fifth in a grain company, a sixth in a cotton-screwing concern, a seventh in an iron company, and so on. Each would be equally sanguine of the success of his own favourite speculation. A year or two later, the same men might have met one another, and, on comparing notes, would have discovered that in every case their money was either lost altogether, or the company in process of liquidation. But it was not only in official circles that the joint-stock mania found victims. The commercial world was just as much a prey to it, and it would take a long time to reckon up the number of companies that came into existence in 1863-4. Almost every private business, no matter of what kind, was sold by the proprietor to a company, he himself generally taking a large part of the purchase money in shares, and in every case realizing a large sum. The *Friend of India*, writing in December 1863, says, that he is within the mark in estimating the amount which within the following three months would be swallowed up by calls of Joint Stock Companies, in Calcutta alone, at one and a third millions sterling.

Towards the end of the year this state of things was followed by a most severe depression in the money-market, which is worthy of observation and study, because it was a result exactly the contrary of what might have been anticipated from the enormous advantages India had been

reaping by the rise of cotton and the increase of her exports. In 1861 three hundred and forty-three million pounds of cotton sold for Rs. 9,26,35,531. In 1862, three hundred and sixty-five million pounds brought Rs. 14,83,54,800¹. The first symptom of the great depression in the money-market occurred in Bombay in the month of October,² and its effects upon the revenue were more particularly marked in the item of opium. The Customs' receipts from the same cause fell to 140,166% less than the actual receipts of the previous year. This decrease in the Customs' duties was mainly owing to the continued high price of manufactured cotton from Manchester. The stagnation of the manufactured cotton trade, coming at the same time as the increased call for the raw material from India, contributed indirectly to the abnormal condition of the money-market at this period, yet the phases this branch of commerce underwent at the time are very curious. Colonel Baird Smith had shown that the stagnation of the cotton-trade in 1859-60 was to be attributed to the depression in stock caused by commercial difficulties in England in 1857-8, and to the large shipments made on speculation in addition to the usual exports, to take advantage of the high prices arising from the preceding cause. At this crisis came the American war, and the supply of cotton threatened to cease. The proprietors of goods held in India then instructed their agents to demand an equivalent advance to that which had taken place in Europe. Believing that the native dealers and consumers would be obliged to give in to their high prices, the exporters continued to ship; but the native dealers, aware of the large stock held in Europe, and expecting a cessation of the war in America, when they knew the prices would fall, refused to purchase. A glut of the market in piece-goods consequently ensued. Sir Charles Trevelyan, whose budget statement for 1863-4 has been quoted here, is careful to point out the real cause

¹ *The Friend of India.*

² Sir Charles Trevelyan's budget statement for 1864-5.

of the depression in the trade, because the blame of it was laid by the Manchester houses upon the import duty of 5 per cent. levied in India. Sir Charles Trevelyan on the same occasion was careful to point out also, that the English merchants in India, who had better means of information than their corresponding houses at home, did not apply for any reduction of the duty, because they knew that that duty was not the cause of the depression of the trade. Upon this state of things there came a sudden reaction in 1862. "This great population," says Sir Charles Trevelyan, "never had so much money." Their increased wealth was owing to the demand for Indian raw cotton, but the people hoarded their silver, and would not purchase manufactured cotton, as they were waiting till prices should go down. When they found that prices did not fall, they opened their hoards and began to purchase, and then there came the reaction in the piece-goods trade, in the course of which, the *Friend of India* says, one Calcutta house alone realized a profit of 210,000*l.* in a few months. At that time the prices had risen so much that 7-lb. shirtings, which were once dear at five rupees, were cheap at nine, and the price continued to rise.

But although this sudden demand temporarily relieved the stagnation in the piece-goods trade, and made the fortunes of some few individual firms, the absorption of silver bullion in India had been going on at a rate that threatened to exhaust the silver currency altogether. In 1862-3 more than twenty-two millions of silver was imported into India. In Bombay alone, the import from the 1st May to December was five millions. During the year the export trade from India rose from forty-three to sixty-three millions; and, when it is recollected that the bulk of this was paid for in silver, which flowed into the agricultural districts, till, as Sir Charles Trevelyan says, the enormous population of India never had so much money, and that then it was hoarded, buried in the ground, or converted into ornaments, it is not difficult to understand that it

should be followed by a severe depression in the money-market. In the early part of the following year the attention of the Chamber of Commerce of the three Presidency towns was directed to the subject, and they drew up memorials to the Viceroy. According to the memorial from the Bombay Chamber, which seems to have taken the lead in the discussion, during the last six years in India alone the average annual absorption of silver had been eleven and a half millions sterling, and in the previous year had been fourteen and a half millions; while the produce of the silver of the whole world only amounted to ten millions; so that during the previous six years India had consumed fifteen per cent. and during the previous year fifty per cent. more silver than the whole world annually produces. While the production of silver had remained stationary, that of gold had increased at least 150 per cent. more than silver; and although not a legal tender in India, its importation had increased for many years, in the previous year the amount being seven millions sterling, while in Bombay alone from the 1st May to the 31st December, 1863, three and a half millions were imported. The report concludes with recommending very strongly the introduction of a gold currency.

Up to the present time (Sept. 1868) the Government have not ventured to adopt any of the various schemes submitted to it for the introduction of a gold currency; but the subject is, and has been for some years, under consideration, and it is not impossible that before these pages go to press, some definite step may have been taken. A country with so rich an export trade as India, and so poor a currency, cannot be otherwise than in the position of an absorbent of bullion. Nor is there any visible limit to its capacity in this respect. It is vain to look for the time when the vast agricultural population of India shall be glutted with silver. If India's

capabilities for absorbing bullion are tested to the last, it will be found that they will not be exhausted, even if all the precious metals of the world are drained into her ample bosom.

Next to the gold currency, an extensive paper-currency is to be looked upon as a source of relief; but as yet, writing in 1868, the currency notes have not become popular; they are appreciated by the European community, but the natives, the mass of the people, still prefer their old system of "hoondeean," as it is called. Social reform is slower in its progress in India than in any country in the world, and time must be allowed to elapse before the people are sufficiently enlightened to invest their money instead of hoarding it, or to prefer the convenient medium of currency notes to their own "hoondees," or bills of exchange.

Saving these remedies, the only method by which we can escape the inevitable result of India's absorptive powers in respect of silver, is by inducing her to take in exchange for her raw produce and her rapidly increasing exports, manufactured goods. In dealing with America, England paid her for her raw produce with her manufactures. It is to be hoped that as facilities of communication increase, and civilization progresses among the agricultural population, this mode of payment may become more extensively adopted. This much is clear, that if India's capacity for absorbing precious metals is so great that all the world's produce cannot satiate her, her capacity for purchasing English manufactures must be equally unlimited. The more civilization advances, the greater will be the demand for the products of the looms, mills, and factories of Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham; and in proportion as the influence of education spreads, will the commerce between the two countries, increasing as it grows, keep itself within the natural and easy channels of reciprocal advantage, regulating its demand and supply

not only in quantity but in kind. When a man has learnt to read and think, the first thing he feels the want of, next to food, is clothing; and, in reality, it is the schoolmaster who will do more than any other person to open out that almost inexhaustible market for Manchester goods, which now lies undeveloped throughout the half-savage agricultural districts of the continent of India.

CHAPTER VIII.

1864

Sir John Lawrence—The condition of the English soldier in India—Soldiers' workshops—Personal religion in the barracks—New style of barracks—Hill climate—Distribution of the army—Lahore Exhibition—Sir Robert Montgomery's address—Progress in the Punjab—Sanitation—Cholera Commission—The Meean Meer hospitals—The cyclone at Calcutta—Durbar at Lahore.

ON the 12th January Sir John Lawrence landed in Calcutta, and was enthusiastically received not only at the Presidency, where there was more heartiness of welcome than method in displaying it, but in the provinces. Enthusiasm has no part in Asiatic character; the nearest approach to it that we have witnessed in India, at least with reference to a Governor's popularity, being the reception Sir Charles Trevelyan had met with at Madras, and even then his claim to popularity, according to a native orator, rested on the fact that he was the first Governor who had varied the monotony of official routine. For the first time we read of the proclamation announcing the arrival of a new Viceroy being received with hearty cheers by the soldiers on parade, headed by their officers. Without any external show—affectation is an offensive word—of philanthropy, Sir John Lawrence has ever evinced the most thoughtful consideration for the welfare of the British soldier. As Viceroy and Governor-General, it was not his province to originate or enforce suggestions for the improvement of their diet or their personal comfort, although in these respects he has ever leaned to the liberal side in every matter which has been referred to him. But, actuated himself by deep

religious principle, he has never failed to see in the soldier something more than the mere State machine. Utterly untractable are the difficulties we meet with on the very threshold when we aim at improving the moral condition of the barracks. There is absolutely no solution to be found for them. The mortality of the English soldiers in India will be considered in another chapter more in detail; here it is only necessary to remind the reader that out of the 60 per thousand who never live to return to their native shores, by far the greater majority—authorities differ as to the actual proportion; we shall not be far from the mark at putting it down at four-sixths of the whole—fall a sacrifice to passions and habits to which the warm climate of the East renders resistance doubly difficult, at the same time that it aggravates tenfold the mischief of indulgence. The moral effects of the Indian climate are far more dangerous than the physical. We place the half-educated lad with perhaps but very imperfectly developed ideas of religion, probably with no experience in himself of the virtue of self-denial, in a position where to be chaste and temperate requires a struggle which might well appal a member of a religious brotherhood earnest in attempts to subdue the frailties of human nature. It is impossible altogether to avoid this, although much might be done, with the resources at our disposal, to mitigate the force of the temptation to immorality to which the soldier in India is exposed. The long tedious hours of the Indian summer day, which must be spent indoors, are often wearisome enough to the man of intellect and cultivated taste. Even with the resources of music and painting in addition to those of literature and society, the time often hangs heavily indeed upon the educated though unemployed man; what must it be to the soldier in a crowded barrack, who has no resource but to lie on his bed and gaze on the barren, ugly, whitewashed walls, or keep up a monotonous conversation with his comrade—monotonous from the absence of any topic of interest, or change of scene, or intervals of solitude

to invigorate the mind by thought? The pipe and the strongest Cavendish tobacco are called in to lighten the dreary burden till the declining sun will allow of a lazy stroll through the bazaar in the sweltering heat. From incessant smoking comes incessant thirst, aggravated intensely by the heat; and in addition to this there is the craving for stimulants of an opposite kind which the use of tobacco begets, and which lies, perhaps, somewhere near the source of that mysterious sensation—the pleasure of smoking—which no smoker has ever yet been able satisfactorily to describe. To appease the demon, resort is had to the canteen; but the allowance procurable there is limited, and the shops of the spirit-dealers in the bazaar who surreptitiously supply the European soldiers with the most pernicious substitute for rum and gin, is the next place visited; and, failing these, the general shops always have on hand a large stock of what is called eau-de-cologne, which is sold at three or four shillings a dozen, and in reality is nothing but gin put into old eau-de-cologne bottles, slightly scented with some perfume. Equally, if not more fatal in its effects than the vice of intemperance is the indulgence of those passions which a life of idleness and vacuity of mind is peculiarly calculated to encourage. The ravages of disease upon the constitution of the soldier in India from this cause are fearful to contemplate, though it is satisfactory to know that in some garrisons the activity of the medical officers, when supported by the commandant, in supervising lock hospitals, has been attended with marked success.

Sir John Lawrence was at one time a warm advocate for the plan of allowing an increase in the percentage of the soldiers permitted to marry. The time is not far distant, we may hope, when this all-important subject will receive the attention it deserves from Parliament. Sir Hugh Rose, who was unflagging in his exertions to improve the condition of the soldier, regarded the question from a practical point of view; arguing with much force, that a small army really efficient was of much more value than one numerous

when reckoned by returns and muster rolls, but comparatively weak in actual fitness for field service. Throughout the whole of his career as Commander-in-Chief he unceasingly urged on the Government the establishment of more stations for soldiers in the hills, but from motives of ill-judged economy his call met with too slender a response. He succeeded, however, in carrying out a measure which served in some way to mitigate the worst evils of barrack life, viz. the establishment of workshops and gardens, where the men are encouraged to spend some portion of their leisure hours in useful occupation. This measure, however excellent in itself, is restricted in its operation; for resort to the workshop or garden is of course voluntary, and the majority of the men who enlist in the army do so to avoid, not to obtain work.

Another measure recently sanctioned by Sir John Lawrence shows that his views of the soldier's condition are grounded on a principle higher than that of securing, as far as possible, the efficiency of a State machine. There is, perhaps, no position in life so little favourable to the cultivation or the development of religious impressions as that of the private soldier, who lives day and night in the company of a large number of comrades. Once on a Sunday the regiment is paraded for divine service, the men of different persuasions attending their own place of worship. But there is scarcely anything so antagonistic to serious thought as a life perpetually passed in public. Retirement of some kind at some stated interval is indispensable to the cultivation of that communion between the soul and its Creator which is the very life-blood of personal religion. How is the soldier to attain this?—From the moment when he is dismissed from morning parade to the time when the lights in the barracks are put out—lights so poor that it is difficult, if not impossible, to read by them—the soldier is surrounded by a crowd of men as a rule but slightly influenced by any thoughts beyond those of the mere passing hour, or of any consideration save that

of getting through the weary day with as much enjoyment and as little tedium as practicable. In most regiments, happily, now-a-days there will be found at least one officer who devotes his spare time and his influence to the encouragement of a religious spirit among those who feel disposed to listen to his exhortations or imitate his example. And with the view of facilitating such efforts, and at the same time affording the thoughtful soldier an asylum where, if courageous enough to disregard the taunts and scoffs of his more worldly-minded comrades, he may find an opportunity for silent meditation, devout reading, and prayer, Sir John Lawrence has recently directed that there shall always be a building in every range of barracks set apart for such purposes.

It would be impossible in this place to recapitulate all the arguments that have been repeatedly urged in almost every public journal in India for years past in favour of Sir Hugh Rose's scheme for availing ourselves much more than we do at present of the benefits of a hill climate for the soldiers. Within the last six years Government have expended enormous sums on the construction of barracks almost palatial in their extent and appearance, in many of the garrisons in Upper India. The new style of barracks is a large double-storied building, the upper story being used for purposes of habitation, the lower devoted to exercise and athletic sports and amusements. The advantages derivable from double-storied habitations in India have been strangely overlooked by the past generation, who constructed most of the dwelling-houses and barracks now in use. The practice of sleeping on a ground-floor in a tropical climate is well known to invite the influence of malaria, and it is not easy to calculate the diminution in the mortality in European life in India for the last century, had it been always the practice to build in double stories. Before the introduction of railways into India it was necessary to locate our European soldiers in garrisons throughout the country, in order that they might be on the

spot in the event of any emergency. That necessity is diminishing yearly as our railway system develops itself; and with railways to the foot of the different hill ranges, there is no reason at all why the soldiers should not be quartered in a healthy climate. It is urged, on the one hand, that there is a certain moral effect produced upon the minds of disaffected natives by the constant presence of English soldiers close to their large cities. No doubt this is true; but, on the other hand, the moral effect would be quite as great, probably much greater, if it were known that the outer ranges of the Himalaya mountains, the Neilgherries in Madras, and other mountain ranges available for the purpose in Central and Western India, were studded with barracks full of Englishmen in the prime of health and strength, who might, at the interval at the most of a day or two, be transplanted by rail to any given point.

The best arrangement for the relief and quartering of the European garrison of India would be as follows:¹—Instead of sending out regiments, as is now done, to Calcutta for Bengal, to Madras and Bombay, and confining their tour of duty to those presidencies, a regiment should be told off, before relief, for Bengal Proper, another for the North-West Provinces (including Oude), another for the Punjab, a fourth for the Central Provinces, a fifth for Bombay, a sixth for Madras, a seventh for Scinde. We should then have seven localities, or districts, of not unmanageable extent, to which each regiment, in its tour of Indian service, would be confined. An examination of the map will show that in each of these territories, or divisions, there is at least one sanitarium within a reasonable distance of the furthest limits of the division; in one at least—the North-West Provinces—there are several. Scinde is the only place where as yet no hill sanitarium has been discovered; and until some salubrious site shall be found, or in lieu of it if never found,

¹ For these suggestions I am indebted to Deputy-Inspector-General Munro, of the Umballa Division.

the sea-coast will afford a much better substitute than is generally supposed. For a great proportion of the diseases and complaints for which men are sent to a hill-climate, the sea air, when there is proper accommodation provided, is in effect far more beneficial.

The regiments thus told off, as it were, to their respective provinces might be moved about within those limits as the exigencies of the service required; and a certain proportion for each regiment should be retained alternately always in the sanitarium, instead of using the latter, as is done under the existing system, as resorts for depôts of invalids, who mostly reach the elevated regions when too far gone to derive much permanent benefit from the change. At present there is no good sanitarium in the Central Provinces, although there are several sites which might be adapted to the purpose. But the Himalayas are within not inconvenient distance of the garrisons in this part of India, and, with the railway communication between the most distant of these garrisons and the hills, the journey might be accomplished in two or three days. At present a regiment sent to Bengal may be quartered in any station from Calcutta to Central India or to Peshawur, the climate between these limits differing as much as it does between England and India; and although there is no such thing as acclimatization, in the sense of an Englishman becoming inured to the influence of a tropical sun or malaria, yet the repeated exposure of the soldier to different climates, each in its way equally unfavourable to the European constitution, during his tour of Indian duty, cannot but be regarded as prejudicial.

Under the proposed system it would be possible to maintain a just and fair proportion in the distribution of regiments and detachments in healthy localities, which is under existing arrangements unattainable. Were troops located in hill stations, there is no reason why a larger proportion of the men should not be allowed to have their wives with them; while out-of-door occupation, as salutary

in that climate as it is in England, would relieve the soldier of at least one-half the temptations that now lure him to the destruction both of body and soul.

Sir John Lawrence landed on the 12th of January. By that time the campaign on the North-West frontier had been closed. The Umbeyla Pass, indeed, had been entirely evacuated the day before Christmas Day ; but a few regiments were left to assist the Guides in the work of burning and destroying some villages in the country recently occupied by the enemy. In India events succeed one another with a rapidity equalling that of the change of scenery upon the stage. Hardly were the embers of the burnt homesteads in the Indus valleys cold in their ashes, when the Punjab was taking the lead in a prominent manner in the cultivation of the arts and commerce. The Lahore Exhibition of Arts, Manufacture, and Produce, was the first attempt to imitate, on a humble scale, those magnificent displays with which the memory of the late Prince Consort is so intimately associated. There had been a collection of cattle at Benares, for which the ambitious title of an agricultural exhibition was claimed ; and at Calcutta a similar collection, on a larger scale, varied by agricultural machinery, was most creditable to Bengal. But the Lahore Exhibition assumed a more pretentious character, and aimed at a higher mark. In both cities the exhibitions were opened with all the *éclat* of an imposing ceremonial. At Calcutta the Viceroy was present ; and as much enthusiasm as could be got up for enormous bulls, huge buffaloes, unexceptionable Arab horses, a pony no larger than a Newfoundland dog, and machinery that could not be worked for want of steam-power, was shown by a mixed crowd of European ladies and gentlemen and native grandees, whose rich and brilliant dresses add much to the general effect of an assembly of the kind in India. At Lahore no official of higher rank than a Lieutenant-Governor was present to conduct the proceedings, but the collection of curiosities from all parts of the province and

its neighbourhood, the specimens of raw produce, minerals and ores, the models architectural and mechanical, the richest products of the far-famed looms and the skill of the handicraftsmen of Cashmere, the thousand and one objects of interest that can find their way into an exhibition whose programme is wide enough to embrace everything in art or nature that is capable of being transported to the spot—altogether made a display up to that day unique in India. Ceremonies on such occasions bear a great similarity to one another. There are the processions, the band, the soldiers, the uniforms, and the guns thundering a salute—particulars which befit the columns of a newspaper rather than the page of history; but a few sentences from Sir Robert Montgomery's address to the committee are deserving of more lasting record :—

"I receive your address with pleasure, yet with a mournful regret that the loss sustained by the Queen and the empire in the lamented demise of the late Viceroy, Lord Elgin, should cast a shade over this day's proceedings, even as the death of the Prince Consort, the great and good institutor of these displays, saddened the opening of the International Exhibition, which we now, however distantly attempt to imitate.

"It is true, as you have observed, that there are few traces here of that cultivated taste and refinement which have called forth in Europe the beautiful and delightful art of painting, sculpture, and music, and that the local manufactures are unaided by the wonderful inventions and extraordinary mechanical power which have so greatly strengthened the productive industry of Great Britain.

"But God has richly blessed these provinces with natural gifts; with mountains abounding in forest timber; with plains needing nothing but artificial irrigation to produce the finest crops; with rivers capable of watering the whole soil. But to render them increasingly serviceable to human sustenance and comfort, they must be brought under more complete subjection by human labour."

The last province brought under British subjection except Oude, the Punjab, has made the furthest advance of any part of British India in a general diffusion of those ideas and habits of thought which are the necessary elements in civilization. With the exception, of course, of

the Presidency towns, and certain classes of the native community here and there throughout the provinces who have adopted English almost as a native language,—who speak, write, and read in that tongue as fluently as Englishmen themselves,—the Punjab has become more Anglicized in the short time since its annexation than any portion of the older provinces. At one time, indeed, there was a remarkable spirit of inquiry abroad on religious questions, which awakened a delusive hope that the people of this land would in a body embrace Christianity. The indication was deceptive; but there are many reasons for believing that, if ever Christianity is destined to be the national religion of India, or part of India, the reformation will be initiated in the Punjab. Without entering into any discussion of the peculiar characteristics of the non-regulation system, which have been alluded to under the chapter on legislation, it is sufficient to remark here, that the system is undoubtedly better calculated to extend the influence of English ideas and civilization generally, than that called in contradistinction the regulation system. The progress in the Punjab was not, however, due only to the system, which has been in operation in many other parts of India without producing any of the effects we see here. Oude, for instance, which, although it has not been incorporated with the empire so long as the Punjab, is yet under the non-regulation system, is as conspicuous for the absence of these landmarks of progress as the Punjab is for their presence.

As between these two provinces, the difference may be accounted for by the fact that the Punjab has been well governed, while Oude has been badly governed, misunderstood, and mismanaged from the very date of annexation. But a great deal of the success which has attended our efforts in the Punjab must be attributed to the character of the people. The races of Northern India are better developed altogether than the Hindostanees, possessed of

finer qualities, and presenting a better block for the sculptor's chisel. A Punjabee is more easily fashioned into a good specimen of his race than the native of other parts of India. In addition to this, the Government was especially fortunate in its officials. It is not necessary to say anything of the two Lawrences, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonels Lake, Taylor, Nicholson, James, Coke, and a host of others who may be called collectively the Lawrence school, some of whom are still at their posts, and some living in retirement, and some are silent in their graves. The names of the leading men have already attained a place in history; but there was a host of juniors and subordinates of whom history has never heard, one and all of whom strove hard to work up to the model which every Punjab official in former days put before him. It is to the united influence of all these men put together, working on the good foundation of the Punjabee character, that has made the province even now, in spite of its having long ago worn threadbare the non-regulation system, one of the foremost in the race towards civilization.

The progress of sanitation is of sufficient importance to demand a chapter to itself. It was in the present year that the Sanitary Commission was first appointed, at the head of which was Mr. John Strachey, formerly Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces, subsequently Chief Commissioner of Oude, and, later still, member of the Governor-General's Council. Previous to the institution of the Sanitary Commission, or, as it may be called, the Board of Health for all India, which was established permanently, two other commissions, appointed for a special purpose, had been sitting. These were the Commissariat and the Cholera Commissions. The former was assembled at the instance of Sir Hugh Rose, to investigate the system under which the Commissariat arrangements were carried on. The other, the Cholera Commission, was employed in collecting statistics, and recording opinions upon the phenomena, the progress, the treatment and its effects,

of epidemic cholera. The President of the Cholera Commission, Mr. John Strachey, accompanied by the other members, one of whom was a military, and the third a medical officer, visited the different places where the cholera epidemic of 1861 had been particularly severe, and collected such evidence in the shape of facts and opinions as were considered worthy of record. The report was never published *in extenso*, as originally drawn up, partly on account of a difference of opinion among the members, who were not unanimous in the conclusions deduced, partly in consequence of the shocking abuses revealed. So appalling were the recorded results of cowardice and neglect in some of the garrisons in Upper India, that the bare statement of them in a dry, official report was too terrible to be allowed to see the light. A considerable time has elapsed since then; and under the more efficient system that now prevails, a similar catastrophe, it is to be hoped, can hardly occur again. It will, therefore, not be imprudent, while it may serve some useful purpose, to intimate briefly the character of some of the abuses brought to light, which, shocking as they are, were nevertheless not deemed unfit for publication. There can be no question that, during the outbreak of 1861, numbers of lives—valuable lives—were thrown away by sheer neglect, or sacrificed on the altar of red-tapeism. A practice had been shortly before adopted of removing regiments and troops, as soon as the disease appeared among them, into camp. Cholera generally breaks out in Upper India in the rainy season, when the air is much cooler than in the previous month, the earth damp, low ground under water, large tracts of country turned into a swamp, and roads often almost impassable. It is obvious that at such a season the practice of moving troops into camp, if intended to benefit the health of the men, must be conducted with at least ordinary attention to arrangements for supplies, carriage, &c.; yet on many of these occasions, corps were actually marched out into the district, away from comfortable, dry barracks,

to bivouac on the wet ground; in other cases their tents were pitched, but for want of the ordinary camp-bedsteads, through mismanagement, the men would have to sleep on the damp earth. At other times, they were taken toilsome marches over ploughed ground, where they sank ankle-deep in mire at every step, and brought up to the camp or bivouac exhausted by fatigue, and exposed to drenching rain. But the most appalling picture was that of the hospital at Meean Meer, the garrison at Lahore, situated about five miles from that city. Here might have been seen in a cantonment, during a period of peace, all the results of a panic on a field of battle. The hospitals, large buildings but badly constructed, were made to hold half as many again as they were intended for. The verandahs were crowded, and ventilation to the interior blocked up. The latrines were so foul that the effluvia from them are described as overpowering; and as the committee report—a fact incredible, but for the weight which the names of the members give to their representations—the latrines contained the accumulated filth of ten years! Over and over again had their condition been reported; over and over again had the authorities been warned that, sooner or later, Nature would take a dire revenge for the insult offered to her in the open neglect of her laws. What *esprit de corps* is capable of accomplishing among departments, when it has risen to that point at which it is held a lesser evil that a whole army should perish than that one department should go an inch beyond the limit of its legitimate province to do the work belonging to another, we saw in the Crimea. As regards the latrines at Meean Meer, it would be difficult at this distance of time to point out with certainty the department or the office that should bear the blame of their intolerable condition. It did not rest with the medical officer, that is clear. It will very seldom be found that regimental medical officers neglect the sanitary condition of their hospitals. But their authority is very limited, and when they have reported a circumstance that

demands attention, or, it may be, requires an outlay of public funds to remedy, their resources are exhausted. Their requisitions may be attended to, or they may be lost in a labyrinth of official channels permeating through the Deputy-Inspector-General's, the Public Works', and the Quartermaster-General's departments. The state of things shown to exist at Meean Meer well illustrates the evils of divided responsibility, and a too unwieldy machinery of administration. There is no House of Commons in India to call to account the culpable neglect of public men. The head of each department fights the battles of all his subordinates, and the practical result is often seen in the total impossibility to lay the blame of some great disaster upon any individual.

The barracks must have been inspected twice yearly, according to regulation, by the general of division, ever since they were first occupied, yet for ten years the most ordinary rules for the preservation of the health of the soldiers were neglected. Without attempting definitely to fix upon the officer in fault on this occasion, it is impossible to escape the conviction that if the Quartermaster-General's department had done its duty, such a condition of things could not have been allowed to remain unnoticed.

These latrines, filled up to a distance of twenty-three feet from the surface, emitted effluvia perceptible in the stillness of the sultry night in all directions, but especially towards the barracks, and the air seemed everywhere impregnated with the foul exhalations. It was further shown that the filth from the native latrines was regularly sold for the purpose of feeding the sheep destined for the butchers' market.

The hospital was already filled with as many patients as it was adapted for when the epidemic appeared. Yet the cholera-patients were thrust into the already crowded wards. Under the pressure of work, and in the panic that ensued, the native establishment struck, and eventually matters came to such a pass, that the floor of the hospitals

was covered with excreta, which were never removed. The stench became insupportable; the very punkah-ropes were saturated with what Mr. Sloggett, the chaplain, described as the concentrated smell of cholera; the smell, the filth, the disorder, the cries, groans, and shoutings in the dismal place, where the thermometer stood day and night at 100°, formed altogether a combination of horrors amid which no man in rude health could be expected to live, and where the unfortunate patient was consigned to almost certain death under every external circumstance that could possibly aggravate the sufferings of men in the last extremity. The attendants, the comrades of the patients who were carried to this pest-house, succumbed under the accumulated horrors, till at last the victims stricken with the disease were left too often untended at all; they were simply placed there to die. Nor can it be wondered at that men allowed the disease to reach an unmanageable stage before they incurred the risk of being consigned to such a place as this. At Delhi, and at Morar the cantonment adjacent to the city of Gwalior, matters were very little better than at Meean Meer. The latrines were in the same neglected condition, the hospitals were pest-houses, instead of asylums for the relief of suffering.

The story reads more like an episode in some history of the Black Death two or three centuries ago, than a report of an occurrence in the nineteenth century, in a regiment of the British army.

Although not connected with the administration of India, the more immediate subject of these pages, the great cyclone which visited Calcutta in the latter part of 1864 deserves a passing notice in a record of the time. The cyclone, or hurricane, commenced about four o'clock in the morning of the 5th October, and lasted till about a quarter to ten. After a complete lull of nearly an hour the gale returned, and lasted till two o'clock, when it subsided. Its influence extended over an area of a hundred miles in diameter. Some idea of the violence of the wind,

and the destructive effects of the storm-wave, may be gathered from the following accounts, culled from the Calcutta papers and the official records; but no pen can do justice to such a subject, or convey to the mind of the reader any adequate idea of the scene. The treacherous river, which a few hours after the storm was as placid as an inland lake, raged and foamed like an angry sea, and rushed in huge, black waves over its banks, threatening to engulf all before it. Large trees were torn up by their roots, and tossed about as if they were wisps of straw; the roaring of the wind, the crashing of falling trees, verandahs, houses, and huts, was incessant, and for hour after hour the appalling strife continued till it seemed as if Nature herself mourned over the universal wreck which she had caused.¹ A writer in the *Englishman*, who was himself exposed to the storm, thus describes his sensations:—

“Within three yards of the doorway (of the Post-office), I was borne off my legs as if I were a stray scarecrow, arms and legs all abroad, brought up against the wall of the house, and dropped into a torrent, which almost swept me along the open drain. . . .

“About an hour later I ventured to try again, and the first thing I saw on leaving the shelter of a wall was the ruin of two street carriages (four-wheeled cabs of a large and strong make), which had been blown over bodily, and not far behind them was a native boat, a dingy, which having been blown ashore at the end of a street, was charging straight along it in the gusts which were then coming more fitfully. What is called the Strand Bank runs along the river-side, about six feet above the level of the ordinary spring tide; it is a good wide road, and is bordered by large mercantile godowns (warehouses), offices, and the like, and along part of it runs an iron palisading or a low wall. Over wall and road the river at its height was literally leaping with the sort of short tumbling sea one sees in very bad weather in the Mersey; the walls were carried away, the telegraph posts blown down, roofs blown off into the road, doors and windows blown clean away, and what should have been the roadway one rolling mass of the *debris* of cargo boats and their cargoes, dingies, rice, jute, rattan-cases, bales, and here and there the huge bulk of some ship or steamer driven right up beyond high-water mark. The gale was still so strong that it was impossible to make out any details of the growing ruin when darkness settled down with the rapidity which marks these latitudes.”

¹ *Friend of India.*

Another account, extracted from the same journal, gives a more comprehensive view of the general effects of the storm.

"During the whole of Tuesday night the weather was marked by a succession of squalls and heavy rain from the N.N.E., and it maintained the same character till about half-past ten on Wednesday morning, gradually increasing in violence. The wind then veered round to the east, and began to blow more steadily and with increased fury. The weaker trees were uprooted or broken short, but, for the first hour or so, no greater damage was done. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, a noise like that of distant thunder, which probably may have been heard from as far as two miles, gave warning, as it gradually increased, that something worse was coming. In about two minutes from this time the cyclone was upon the town. Wherever there were trees, they were either uprooted and fell, carrying with them in many cases walls, railings, and buildings, or their branches were snapped off like reeds and hurled away with the wind. Carriages and palkees were upset and strewed the roads, mingled with the *débris* of roofs, verandahs and gates, and fallen trees. Corrugated iron roofings were torn, doubled up, and blown away like sheets of paper. By two o'clock the eastern and southern suburbs of the city, and those parts of it to the westward which, from their proximity to the plain and the river, were the most exposed, were more or less a wreck. Except the cocoa-nut and other palms, scarcely a tree was anywhere to be found standing. The beautiful avenues in Fort William were entirely destroyed; the Eden Gardens turned into a wilderness, in Tank Square the trees and shrubs were blown away, and in many parts the iron railing torn up and overthrown. In Garden Reach the roads were blocked up and rendered impassable from the trees that fell across them. The splendid avenue of usoth (*Polyalthea longifolia*) trees in the compound of the school opposite St. James's Church, some of which must have been four or five feet in circumference, was entirely destroyed, the trees being snapped off above the level of the wall which protected them, but which is now no longer standing. The damage done to buildings was considerable. Among these, we notice that the roof of the Free School was blown away; the upper part of the Roman Catholic Church at the upper end of the Bow Bazaar Road entirely destroyed, and the steeple of the Free Church of Scotland; the minarets of the Mosque in Dhurumtolah were all blown away; St. James's Theatre was unroofed and nearly destroyed; the roof of the cathedral is much damaged, the sheds of the East India Railway Company are unroofed, and Messrs. Thacker and Spinks' premises seriously damaged. Our own troubles we described yesterday. In fact, scarcely a pukka¹ house in Calcutta has escaped without

¹ Built of masonry, in contradistinction to mud, "wattle and dab" edifices.